1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

243 178 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241] [311] [406] [462] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 312 241 406 [433] The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 422 178 [407] [452] [464] Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well, for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; owning one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

[243] [554] Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however, tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets	3 small pans
6 sheets	1 big frying pan
12 pairs pillow cases	1 medium frying pan
15–16 towels	2 round cake pans
2 big rugs	2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 rag rugs	6 of each piece of cutlery
6 big sauce pans	Fireplace equipment (big kettle,
3 medium pans	2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

1:Sanders Z-514 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot
[432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at
[461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be
[594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable
[554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this
[581] line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start
[883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much
[584] to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the
[454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumu-
[426] late a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the re-
[626] quired amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a
[183] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating
[602] the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[9]

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background:

In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians.

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained:

The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself.

About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching.

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera-

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875 tives, and financial matters. "But a really pernicious element in the village,
871 today," said the director, going back to an earlier theme, "is the half-
educated person, who sits in the coffeehouse, reads the newspapers, and
[554] gives his half-baked ideas. He thereby undermines the influence of the
teacher." Nevertheless, many dedicated teachers exert tremendous influ-
[242] ence despite all the handicaps they face. He mentioned the case of the
teacher in Phlorina (western Macedonia), a Greek refugee from Russia,
who in the late 1920s planted with the children in the school garden the first
apple trees, destined to become the basis of the extensive orchards now in
that area. The teacher persuaded the villagers to take slips from these trees
for planting. But not all teachers show this initiative. "We fail to teach the
teachers how to teach the children how to behave and meet the various
problems as they arise." The fault does not lie with the children, since
they have an incredible thirst for learning: "To the child, the school is
cherished," he concluded.

571 It was always easy to get people not only to compare education in the
184 past with the present but also to get discussions of the regional differences
in emphasis upon education. In a Macedonian village I once listened to a
[231] long discussion with a local official and an outsider, originally from South-
ern Greece, who had brought a truckload of beehives from Chalkidike to
pasture on the special variety of blossoms there. The beekeeper asserted:
"The standard of living in the Peloponnesos is higher than here in Northern
Greece. In my village there has been for many years a gymnasium, and
you won't find anyone who hasn't gone to school, while here you don't find
people with the same interest. That is why the standard of living is higher in
the Peloponnesos."

[175] But the Macedonian would not accept such a comparison without a
verbal challenge: "You forget that you got liberated almost one hundred
years before we did. We had five hundred years of Turkish rule over our
heads; it is not true that we don't want our children to get a better educa-
tion. For instance, in my village of Balta we have a semigymnasium where
there are 365 students. The state wants to close that school, and we said
that if they did this we would be obliged to send our children to a distant
[875] gymnasium. We have eight teachers in that school; four are paid by the
state, but we local people give them a supplement since their salary is not
sufficient; the other four teachers are paid entirely by the parents. In the
first three grades each pupil pays $3 per month and in the next three
grades $4 per month. This shows we value education. Everything goes for
Southern Greece; we are neglected here."

875 Here, at least, was one indication that the teacher was much appreciated.
But throughout my village visits I also found those who were impatient
with the teachers. One Greek official, who knows many parts of his country

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

be taught exclusively in *katharevousa;* and in 1936, Metaxas, always using *demotike* himself, re-established teaching in the popular tongue throughout the primary schools and ordered the publication of an official grammar of the language.[17]

Since then, despite much outcry to the contrary, the demotike has remained the language of the elementary school.

I asked the Greeks on a number of occasions if the two languages about which they were arguing were really two different languages. They usually answered "yes" and "no": yes, because the demotike has a number of foreign words not found in the other and uses a different grammar; no, because there is considerable overlapping. In other words, to be educated is in a sense to become bilingual, an accomplishment which tends to create social distance between the upper and lower classes. But, interestingly enough, two members of the upper or educated class often speak to each other, not in the purist form, but in a demotike which has been transformed to a medium above the peasant level.

But what does all of this mean for the villager who has never studied katharevousa? He admits that when the teacher or the priest begins to use the latter he experiences, "a shiver of holy enthusiasm," [18] but he does not really follow fully what is said. Therefore, to reach the peasant, one must use demotike, which is a written as well as a spoken medium of communication. This is what the Communist press started doing, making use of what many consider a rather strange type of demotike but nevertheless one aimed at trying to get the Communist message across to the villagers and the lower classes in the cities. The non-Communist papers, although using demotike for news stories, continue to write their editorials in the learned, purist Greek, and official government documents continue to appear in the purist form. As a matter of fact, if one seems to prefer demotike as a writing medium over the katharevousa, many people consider one leftist and therefore somewhat suspect. This is why some of my Greek friends describe the language situation in Greece today as one of "anarchy and confusion." But there is some hope in Kimon Friar's words:

> If in all this confusion, poverty and richness, the modern Greek poet [and he could mean any writer] sometimes despairs, he may remind himself that in periods of language formation great poets have arisen, a Chaucer, a Dante, and even a Shakespeare.[19]

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

courts. The village priest, therefore, acquires land and farms, in many cases just as diligently as the other villagers; he may even embark upon a few small-scale business enterprises on the side. His regular salary from the state gives him a steady income which the rest of the local people usually lack. This, combined with thrift and diligence, helps him acquire a little more property than the average farmer and enjoy a slightly higher standard of living. This is not guaranteed, of course, and one can call to mind many village priests who obviously were living on the barest minimum. At the same time, the priest is able to maintain what has been called a "comradely equality" with his people.[8]

The priest, however, is not necessarily a permanent fixture. The bishop appoints him to a post and the local congregation can refuse him, or it can raise objections to a bishop about a priest who conducts himself in ways the local people do not like. In most cases, the bishop tries to find the kind of priest that the local parishioners prefer. Since the priest often acquires land, as has been pointed out, he wants to pass that on to his children. He may try to persuade one son at least to follow him in the service of the church. In one Peloponnesian village I found that a priest's son now off at the seminary was coming back to succeed his father, thus making a fourth generation of priests from the same family serving that parish. When I mentioned this to bishops and others familiar with church matters, they pointed out that this was a common phenomenon, and even gave the names of villages where a fifth-generation member from the same family was ministering to the same parish.

Should a parish vacancy occur, the bishop, who is informed about it as a matter of course, announces in the local papers as well as in the church papers that there is a vacancy in such and such a village and that all qualified people may apply. He goes through the applications, selects the eligible candidates, and posts their names on the door of the cathedral, with the notice that anyone who knows any reason why these people should not serve as priests should inform the bishop. After due time has elapsed, he makes the choice, giving heavy weight, according to one bishop who discussed this, to educational qualifications and moral considerations.

In pursuing in greater detail the relationship between the parish priest and the state, I learned that it was under the leadership of Archbishop (Metropolitan) Damaskinos, who played such an important part in helping his country through the politically troubled waters from German occupation back to self-government, that the priests were put on a salary paid by the state. Before that, they had been paid from fees and also by products from the parishioners. *Kondota*, or the subscription by families of so much wheat, eggs, olive oil, and such, to the priest if he would serve them was widely practiced before the present salary arrangement was made. In round figures, the parishes now contribute about one fourth of the amount

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

needed to pay the priests' salaries, with the difference coming from state revenue. Also, the local parishes have to pay an amount equal to 6 percent of their priest's salary to the bishop toward the retirement fund for the local priest.

For salary purposes, the priests are divided into four classes: those who have gone through the theological faculty of the university; those who have attended the seminary, perhaps one or two years beyond gymnasium; those who have no seminary but who have finished gymnasium; and those put in a miscellaneous category. There are apparently sufficient candidates for the priesthood now, and some effort is being made to fashion their curriculum to prepare them to serve village needs more effectively; even the older priests are encouraged to come back for periods of study. One member of the Holy Synod thought that the priests ought to know more about agriculture, economics, and first aid, so that they might play a more vital part in community life. His view of the priest's role was that "he is to help people with their problems of all kinds and settle any disputes among the villagers."

But what part does the village priest really play? As has already been indicated, the Greeks are ambivalent toward the priest.[9] "As an individual, he commands respect, and gives advice to those who seek it. However, he is also a figure of ridicule and of ill omen." [10] A great deal depends upon the personality of the priest himself. One informant told me that when he was a boy their village had had a wonderful priest who was very important. Today, even though the people are probably just as much attached to their religion, the present priest is not popular. In the course of an extended conversation with the people in a village near Volos, we asked what kind of priest they had. "Oh, our priest is from around Karpenesi. He has five children and is a good family man." He was not singled out for praise because of any priestly performance, but because of his conformity to basic village values. But children in that same village must have heard many, many times the local account of what happened to some monks who lived in a monastery not far from the village. This had been built in 1714 as an annex of a Mount Athos establishment, but in due course of time the monks became "naughty" in that they called to and teased the women who were on their way to work in the fields. Finally the villagers could stand this no longer, so the men took the monks to a rock overlooking the sea and told them to jump. The monks jumped and were never heard of again. The present priest, unlike the monks, is "a good family man."

Very persistent and widespread is the belief, already mentioned, that an encounter with the priest brings bad luck. If peasants starting on some new venture meet a priest, they will turn back home and not begin it on that day for fear of failure. Anyone who meets a priest, in addition to "giving" the bad luck to a companion by hitting him on the shoulder, can tie a knot

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 275]

[XV]

The Village Community

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A Greek village has a much richer social texture than the casual visitor would imagine. As already indicated, it has its patterns of mutual aid, its church, school, local government, and coffeehouses — which often are the focal points for intense activity — but it also has its neighborhoods, kinship groups, and even a status system according to which people are sorted out by other villagers. Furthermore, if any villager "gets out of line," strong social sanctions can be brought to bear to make him conform. The village notables whom I met enjoyed telling how things got done in their communities and of the factions and cross-pressures at work. Many times, simply by watching them perform their official and unofficial roles in behalf of the community, I observed the community in action. A mother came to ask how she could get her son out of the army long enough to help with the spring plowing because her husband was disabled with a back injury; an official from the Ministry of Agriculture left some forms about crop production for the secretary to fill out; a man who had received a letter in English from a nephew in the United States wanted one of the notables — who had previously been in the States — to translate the contents. The variety of tasks seemed endless, but some village notable was usually able to rise to the occasion.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Village Notables

554 Contrary to popular belief, one does not always find the village notables sitting around the coffeehouse. Most of them are usually busy people, working in their fields, around their houses, or in a shop. They do make at least brief appearances around the square some time during the day, most probably after supper. Loafers do not become notables in a Greek village. To learn who these notables were, I asked throughout mainland Greece: "Who are the most important people in your village? Why are they important?"

[622] I was struck by the fact that in 1955 and 1959 more people seemed to stress the high prestige of the community president than they had done in 1953. This impression, if fully verified, would indicate a growing importance of and a re-emphasis upon local government in the Greek scheme of things. One priest in the Peloponnesos attributed this shift to the fact that "interest in religion is not as great as twenty years ago and church attendance has declined." A few typical replies, many contradicting each other in some details, will convey the villager's view of the notables in his community. From Central Greece:

554 875 759 622 793 The greatest honor in our village is to be president of the community. Those who are most respected are those with the most money. Anyone who has money receives a hearty "good morning"; without money he doesn't. This is because our people are not educated. In fact, the priest gets more respect than the teacher, which is not as it should be. The local doctor, too, is respected.

From another village in Central Greece we hear:

The most important people are the most educated, either the doctor or the teacher who, thanks to his education, can solve a problem in which the people are interested. We have some clever people who try to overshadow the teacher in order to influence other villagers, but if they are to do this they must be respected. If an extremely clever person is immoral, he has no great prestige. Two things influence other people: to be just in his judgment and honorable. We respect a man more if he is honorable than if he is rich. Even an uneducated man who is a good farmer and has good judgment and is honorable can have influence.

[665] Party leaders in former times would have been included among the notables, according to a businessman from Thebes:

In my childhood days the party leader would have ranked as most important, particularly if he belonged to the strongest party and would be able to help local people solve their problems. Nowadays in the village the president of the community would play a great part. The doctor, if there is one, has high position, provided that he is respected by the others. In the old days the priest and teacher were more respected than today. In my childhood when the teacher

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In my childhood when the teacher or priest would pass through the village square people would stand up. The local merchants in the village have changed their status little, for their role in life is still to do commerce. 554 875 793 622 [474]

The extent to which the priest or the president of the local cooperative, where it exists, is considered important depends today very much upon the personalities of the individuals involved. One person said:

The role of the priest should be mentioned along with the teacher and doctor. He should lead because he represents the church and is more educated than the peasants. But there are some priests who play little part in community life. I know of one who drinks too much, shoots off his revolver, and is not respected.

The relative prestige of the village notables has been influenced by the practice of the central government in providing the teacher and the priest. Only the community president comes into office as the result of local initiative, but even his status, though gaining ground, is not what it used to be thirty or forty years ago:

The president of the village is usually a better man than the president of the cooperative because there is more tradition behind his office. But it does not always hold that the best man is picked as president. In Thessaly forty years ago when the president came into the coffeehouse all the men rose in deference to "their president." [474]

A man from a mountain village in Central Greece who is active in the cooperative movement contrasted the various statuses in his community:

I find that the teacher enjoyed more prestige formerly than now. Earlier there was a higher percentage of illiterates, but today many village sons have gone away for a higher education and so people are not so dependent upon the teacher. Since officials do not wish to undermine the position of the teacher, the agronom and other representatives of the nomarchia always consult the teacher when arriving in the village.

This man thought the secretary of the village more important than the president.

When I put the question of relative prestige of the notables to a group of students at the American Farm School in Salonica, I found the anticipated difference of opinion. The majority of the boys, all from villages, said that the president of the community was most important, but others said that the priest would be "if he is from the village itself and has a good reputation." They pointed out that the president of the community becomes involved in politics and is therefore apt to antagonize those who may differ with him politically. Of the twenty villages represented, fourteen had doctors. Only six of these were considered community leaders. These village boys also thought, for the most part, that the wealthy peasants were [759]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

554 875 793 622 [729] [561]

not necessarily considered in the select group unless they held some other office such as community president. In Northern Greece, if a villager has achieved renown by fighting in one of the wars for the liberation of Macedonia, he will rank high. He becomes the personification of local history, and what he says about the war will be given more credence than what the textbooks say. He was there and saw things with his own eyes.

A generation or two ago one's age had much to do with the respect shown to him but this value is shifting:

> Older people used to be the leaders. Now the tendency is toward the educated and wealthy, although the community president is chosen much on the same basis as before. He generally ranks first in importance. The teachers and priests are better-educated than they used to be so their influence is greater.

The above sentence seems to contradict the observation that as people become more educated they rely less on the teacher and priest. What actually happens is that the basis for respecting these two notables shifts. In villages where a progressive spirit is abroad, if they show an interest in doing things for the community and are not merely functionaries carrying out the narrow round of activities connected with their jobs, then they acquire prestige. But it is only the better-educated priests and teachers who show any genuine community orientation. This was reaffirmed by a nomarch in the Peloponnesos who, while listing the president of the community as actually and legally the most important man, also observed: "On the other hand, a teacher or priest may rank high due to outstanding personality characteristics."

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I noticed in Central Greece and the Peloponnesos that from time to time some native son, who had spent several years in the United States, would be included with the notables. At first, I wondered whether he was trotted out because he could speak a few words of English, but then I noticed that others who also had been to the States were kept in the background. To receive prestige in many, though by no means all, villages, the returnee must show generosity that no other local inhabitant is expected to demonstrate.

Nor can one overstate the omnipresence of these village Greeks who have spent some time in America.[1] In one village of less than two thousand I found more than forty older men who had been to the United States. The net social effect of this reservoir of foreign experience was almost negligible. One returnee said: "Even if you come back with new ideas, you must conform to life about you, for those ideas are not applicable here. If you stay here you will be like a peasant in a year; if I went back to the States I would become a gentleman again."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Social Class in the Village

The notables just described constitute the village élite; they are at the top of the status system and represent the village's contact with the outside world. If they are originally from outside, they are supposed to possess the qualities that the peasants ascribe to the educated city person. Their reputation in turn is based largely on the traditional classical education which sets them apart from those less fortunate. As one commentator pointed out: "The civil servant or poor lawyer has little out of life other than his prestige. This takes the form of petty autocracy and the assumption of superiority over the nonprofessional classes." Such a person coming to live in the village feels it incumbent upon him to maintain something of a social gulf between him and the peasants, who also share this feeling. But this "assumption of superiority" is in itself not enough. It will wear thin after a while if the individual does not prove himself competent in his job or show an understanding of the problems that the villagers face. Even if he does it arrogantly, he nevertheless must produce some benefits for the villagers. There is a shrewd practicality in the Greek peasant with which any intellectual has to reckon.

Those notables who are from the village, whether educated or not, must also possess those qualities stressed locally. To some extent, they have to fit into the value systems of both the city and the village, not favoring one so much that they alienate those subscribing to the other.

Very few studies have been made of the status distinctions in Greek villages, with the result that we cannot prove or disprove the existence of regional differences in ascribing status. In a Greek community, as in an American one, people when asked about class differences will be apt to deny them, claiming, "everybody here is as good as everybody else. We have no class distinctions." But as the questioner probes, he learns that one part of the community is considered a very good residential area and another part very poor; some families are at the very top of the social scale for a variety of reasons, others are generally recognized to be at the bottom, and those in between can be sorted out in a loose way according to the criteria (or social values) prevailing in that place. John Photiadis lists the following as the factors for class distinction in the Macedonian village he studied: education; occupation; money; family name; approved achievement; community activities; origin (whether refugee or not); area of residence. On the basis of these he delineates three classes in a larger-than-average village:

The *upper class* consisting of professionals (doctors, lawyers, teachers), tobacco merchants, larger storekeepers, and office managers.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

565 The *second class* consisting of small storekeepers, farm owners, and skilled workers.

The *third class* consisting of persons not quite acceptable by society.[8]

Although this scheme is not precise and is difficult to apply in its present form to other villages in Greece, it does tend to stress the economic and occupational factors which play an important part throughout the country. This is particularly borne out in the studies of the Near East Foundation, to which references have already been made in preceding chapters. In two of their villages there seemed to be no class differences, but in others these were recognized and explained as follows, with each paragraph applying to a different community:

The economic position of the person is all-important. Those who are well-to-do and willing to help another in time of need rank high. Family and education play little or no role.

There are no noticeable differences in the village, but the villager who is financially better off than his neighbor is accorded a somewhat higher place.

Although there are no obvious class distinctions, the farmers who are better off are honored if they are not too conservative, which most of them tend to be. The priest, community president, cooperative president and certain village councilmen form the highest social class due to their judgment, diplomacy, education and vision.

Wealth is the only determining factor in this village.

Economic factors are most significant. The richer have the higher position. Shopowners are higher than farmers. People value a person's ability to help others in time of need or to promote the interest of the village. Family background is minor.[9]

565 These statements show that in Greek villages it is possible for an individual who is honorable and good to gain recognition even though the
555 reputation of his family might not be very high. Without any doubt, what is most important is the financial ability of a family to afford education for its children which, in turn, provides them with a means for occupational advancement. The status of the family with several highly educated people is almost invariably higher than that of the family where no one has gone beyond grade school.

565 One must not assume, however, that the status system in the Greek village is something rigid or exclusively hereditary. It is unusually mobile.
554 This is borne out by Photiadis when he compares the pre- and postwar class structure of his village:

Social mobility became easier after the war except for the upper class. It became much more difficult to move to the upper class. The high prices of tobacco before the war gave a number of people the opportunity to be close to

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the economic level of doctors or large storekeepers. Now this factor has diminished considerably concerning tobacco producers and has also affected smaller storekeepers, allowing less chance for them to expand their enterprises.[4]

He concludes that the ends of the "social pyramid became closer and it is difficult to separate the second from the third class, while the upper class became smaller." Land ownership and money, two factors which were stressed before the war, are no longer very important, for a peasant can rent a field quite inexpensively. With the prices of tobacco as low as they are, land is not in as great demand.

Village Organizations

Almost every village today has one or more clubs or associations which have been promoted by governmental officials and people from the city in an effort to effect some change in the rural way of life. Most of these organizations appear to be well intentioned and are accepted as such by the local people, but this does not mean that the peasants become eager joiners or loyal members. Other village groups have much deeper local roots: mutual-aid groups and the cooperatives; the church board, the school board, and the community council. In many villages I inquired about the formally organized groups. Three widely scattered communities listed a variety of associations, some of which will be described more fully below:

Ano Kleitoria (Peloponnesos): community council, church board, school board, and Friends of the Forest.

Kalivi (Attica): the regular boards, five cooperatives, agro club, hunting club, home-economics club.

Polygyros (Chalkidike, Macedonia): the regular boards, two cooperatives (agricultural, apiary), boy scouts, lawyers' union, athletic club, professional union, medical union, olive-oil union, woman's philanthropic group.

One widespread and rapidly growing organization is the Rural Youth Club, which is modeled on the 4-H Club in the United States and promoted and supervised by the Extension Service of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. Each member carries out an agricultural project, and together they operate a field owned by the club. In the Macedonian village referred to they also operate the village library located in the community building. They meet once a week to listen to a lecture, which is followed by recreational activities.

The women, too, have their own club. It is the home club or home-economics club similar to the Home Demonstration Club in the United States. It includes farm and nonfarm women, young and old. When field work is slack, the members attend classes in canning, sewing, and cooking, several times a month. The home agent helps them acquire knowledge and skill through lectures, demonstrations, and group participation. Often the club has its own workship and kitchen.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[1]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

2

The Family: Economic Activities

THE STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES of the family as the most significant social unit in Vasilika will become clearer in the ensuing discussions. For the present, the family in the village may be defined as what has variously been called the "elementary," "nuclear," or "conjugal" family; that is, a husband and wife and their children. It is the welfare of his own family as a corporate entity which motivates the actions of the villager; and the family is the group whose members work in cooperation to try to maintain or to improve their common position. The villagers measure prestige and honor by the degree to which a family succeeds in fulfilling its obligations. From their point of view, the essential family obligation is to maintain a ratio between property and children such as to enable each child, when the property is divided in equal shares among all the children, to maintain, in turn, a decent standard of living for his family. This goal commonly requires not only an effort to conserve the wealth received from previous generations, but also, if possible, to increase it. The villagers act as if they conceive of the family as a kin group which conserves, accumulates, and transmits wealth from one generation to the next. The ability to transmit wealth is especially important. The villagers consider a man who is rich in lands but has no children an object of pity; the man's wife is considered even more unfortunate. This is because the contemplation of the success of their children gives the life of a married couple a large part of its meaning. In the operation of the inheritance and dowry systems in the region, a son may be given his share of the patrimony in the form of an education and a daughter given hers as her dowry at marriage. An educated son who has a civil service job in a town, or a daughter whose dowry was large enough for her parents to have found a schoolteacher husband for her, can give to the parents lasting inner satisfaction and the joy of being able to tell of their child's exploits. To be able to sit and watch such adult children, or even an industrious farming son, as they talk to visitors of their adventures, or as, on a feast day, they eat the food their

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

fifties remember a childhood in which wheat was the major crop, with some corn, chick peas, and lentils as a supplement. Only a small amount of cotton was raised. Each household owned more sheep, horses, and mules than the present villagers. The animal dung fertilized the fields, some fields were permitted to lie fallow each year, and whatever cash income there was came from the sale of surplus wheat and small quantities of cotton, wool, and milk. The farmers all agree that one householder, working alone with occasional hired help, derives more income from his patrimony of 35 *stremata* than his father gained from 180 *stremata* worked with the help of several sons.

The increased mechanization on the farms of Vasilika and the more extended and intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco have unquestionably increased the cash income of the villagers. The same conditions have led to increased indebtedness and a greater dependence on world markets.

Every household in Vasilika has accepted the new techniques and has been affected to a greater or lesser extent by the consequences. Whatever differences exist in methods of cultivation are dictated by the differences in immediate practical possibilities and necessities in each household, and there is no consistent pattern from this point of view which distinguishes one group of Vasilika households from another. From the standpoint of agricultural techniques, there is neither a progressive faction nor a conservative faction in Vasilika.

The uniformity of acceptance of change has been possible in Vasilika, I believe, because all the villagers, farmers and shepherds alike, work for the same goal: the enhancement of the honor and prestige of the family. One important culturally approved means of achieving the goal is the upward mobility of family members. But upward mobility rests partly, at least, on an improved material standard of living. Any change which enables a village family to increase its material wealth is, therefore, welcomed after a consciously empirical assessment of its effectiveness.

One of the methods by which a family can express its social position in Vasilika and its aspirations toward mobility is by the way it uses its income. The next chapter will discuss, therefore, some of the consumption habits of the villagers.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) X3 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Clothing

178 Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most im-
291 portant item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is cloth-
[511] ing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in
[292] Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their child-
[427] hood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

291 Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark
[177] lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers
[369] avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban
[626] professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for
[292] Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men, when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter over-
[177] coats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based
[184] on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue
[511] homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth. They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief, wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay.
[302] Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields, these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around
[765] to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourning. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in
[554] mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/163 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 863 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

sacrifices necessary to keep an academically talented son in the gymnasium are undertaken with enthusiasm, because such a son gives promise both of increasing the income of his family and of raising its social position.

Although not all of Vasilika's boys who start the gymnasium have sufficient talent or self-discipline to complete the course, a majority of them do so and give observable evidence of the feasibility of sending boys for advanced schooling. In 1959, of the thirty-four boys and young men who were between the ages of twelve and thirty and who were also sons of farmers, sixteen had attended or were then attending gymnasium, and three of the sixteen had received or were still receiving some education at a higher level. By 1961, as we have seen, a shepherd's boy had completed a year in gymnasium. Whether all these sons will succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications depends, of course, on the economic development of the nation, and especially on the increased possibilities for employment in the towns and in Athens. In Vasilika each educated young man and his family hope that he will not have to return to the village to live.

The pattern of educating sons is not a new one in the village. With few exceptions, the groups of middle-aged brothers and of young adult brothers and sisters in the village in 1961 could boast of one additional brother who was living in a town or in Athens, and each of these men had had some education beyond the village school. There were also two men in this age group who were living in the village but had had some gymnasium training.

A second solution to the problem of surplus sons well known in the history of Greece has been emigration out of the country itself. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 about four young men left Vasilika for the United States. One of these returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and has lived in the village ever since. The other three are still in the United States. In the 1930's, one man left with his wife and child for Tanganyika. The extent of continuing association with these overseas relatives is different in each case; one man returned to Vasilika to visit his brother in the early 1950's and stayed for only a year; another wrote sporadically; a third disappeared and his son knew only that he had died in the States. The Tanganyika relatives, however, continually sent packages to their village cousins, and the son of the original emigré, who had died, returned to the village with his mother in 1959. The villagers always referred to the packages from Tanganyika as gifts from America and referred to the Tanganyikan, even after his return, as "the American." Apparently, the word "America" in the village is a generic term for an El Dorado abroad. However, emigration out of the country is not currently of interest to the villagers; no one in the village ever asked us for help in arranging the emigration of one of their sons to the United States, though joking references to our taking young people back with us were not uncommon.

Up to this point, then, we may conclude that the system of equal inheritance of property and the villagers' approval of urban living have led to an actual geographical movement of young men out of Vasilika and to a social movement into occupations other than farming for young men who have grown up in the rural settlement. Another aspect of the situation is that income from

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

596 428 mother, and any additional properties acquired by their father in the course of his lifetime.

Division of the Patrimony

The division of the property is always a dramatic event in the lives of the villagers. They believe that the separation of brothers is necessitated more by human than by economic considerations. They explain that brothers should be able to get along with each other and work together under the supervision of the eldest. Harmonious relations between brothers are highly approved in the village, and their maintenance is considered a moral obligation. But, the villagers will add, "What can you do?" When the wives and children of several brothers are part of the same household, inevitably they quarrel. One wife complains that her children's shoes are all worn out while her nieces and nephews are wearing new shoes. The matter of the work contributions to the joint household causes dissension; each wife tries to convince her husband that he works harder than the others. The children of one brother may cry at night and keep another brother and his wife from getting proper sleep. There also may be some envy if the dowry received by one brother is larger than that of the others.

The decision to divide the property may be delayed in spite of considerable disharmony in the household for several reasons. First, division implies a kind of moral defeat. Second, there are economic factors which favor the maintenance of a joint household. It cuts down on the consumption expenditures for each of the families; more women are released for work in the fields because the young children may be cared for at home by the grandmother or by only one of the wives; and the amount invested in farm animals and equipment can be held down because they are cooperatively used. Then, too, as one farmer puts it, before brothers divide the patrimony, it seems as if they have a lot of land and are earning a good living, but once the property is divided, each brother has little and then one sees that the family was not so wealthy after all. Appearances [554] are important to the villagers, and a group of brothers may be reluctant to reveal the details of their economic condition. But the most important impediment to the separation of the brothers is the house itself. For the house is part of the patrimony, and if the brothers separate, the housing must also somehow be divided among them. There are several ways in which the villagers have solved this last problem.

342 596 428 When there are only two brothers involved, the house may be physically divided simply by building a wall between two sets of rooms both upstairs and downstairs. The brothers work together to improve both parts of the house so that each is of equal value and then draw lots to determine which brother gets which part (Levy 1956). Such houses are thenceforth called *dhipla* (double houses), and two or more families live in them as in entirely different establishments. Once the households are separated, a brother who has received cash in his wife's dowry is now able to make further improvements in his side of the house without regard for the other. There were four double houses in Vasilika in 1961.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity.

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church.

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect.

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *agbora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

lead to a peasant's becoming a "broker" tend to produce a conflict with his kinship obligations (Wolf 1955:57).

The better part of a year's field study in a small Greek village has made clear to me the great usefulness of Redfield's and Wolf's conceptions. However, I shall try to show that in Greece the role of kinship ties as a mechanism for maintaining urban-rural connections is extensive and permeating. Nor does a change in social status from poorer to wealthier Greek peasant, or to any other more prestige-giving position, result in a rupture of kinship ties and obligations.

It is therefore the purpose of this paper to point up the peculiar significance of kinship in "the web of group relations" between town and country in Greece, and to show the process by which, in this region at least, it comes about that the elite are likely to be one's own relatives.

To begin with, considerable social mobility exists in Greece (Antonakaki 1955:108–111), but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities—in villages, towns, and cities (McNeill 1957:16–17). Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life. The mediators, the "brokers," in Greece can be understood best not only as individuals who are part of a distinct social class in specific economic and political relationship to the rural peasantry, but also—and perhaps more importantly—as links in a chain of relations within a family whose members may be distributed through the various levels of Greek social structure. Such a chain of relations has further ramifications. The network of associations established by the villager's kin in the towns and cities helps to increase the possibility that his business even with non-kin mediators will be conducted on a personal basis. Greeks find particularly abhorrent any relationship which is totally impersonal and functionally specific. The tax collector who comes to the village from an office in a provincial town may not be your son, but he may work in the same office with your son. And if he does not, he may work with the son of another family in your village. From the Greek point of view, a connection through one's own kin is best, but failing that, a connection through a relative of another village family is decidedly better than no connection at all.

Let us see how this system operates as a medium of cultural transmission. The village of Vasilika in Boeotia, on the mainland of Greece, has many characteristics of Wolf's open peasant community. The vast preponderance of the crops grown is sold for cash; the farmers, as I prefer to call them, depend upon credit to finance not only the crop but also the purchase of diesel-powered irrigation pumps, tractors, chemical fertilizers, and the like. There is considerable wealth display and rivalry for social position among the village families, which is another of Wolf's criteria. However, Vasilika is an open community in

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

However Vasilika is an open community in still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Education beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation undoubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash outlay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of the sacrifices involved.

Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry system and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is almost impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to engage in these occupations.[2] Such skills are considered real assets, and may again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual, therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a taxi-driver, to

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

have one daughter married to a tailor in a nearby town, and perhaps another daughter married to a farmer in another village. His own younger brother and one or two of his wife's brothers may be Athenians in white-collar occupations or in one of the professions.

I do not suggest that such a distribution of kin is in itself necessarily significant for understanding urban-rural relations. If the village children who had achieved higher social status in the towns and cities felt that the maintenance of their new status demanded a repudiation of their village-bound relatives, they might sever all connections with the villages as quickly as possible. Or, if the demands made upon upwardly mobile members of the family by those still in the villages were too great, it might also be necessary for village connections to be broken. If these conditions existed, the main line of connection between the villages and the national institutions, and thereby with urban influences, would have to be restricted to contacts with a separate cultural elite (priests, teachers) or with functionally specific economic and political mediators.

This is emphatically not the case in Greece. A farmer and his wife, his adult sons and daughters, and, through the dowry system, his sons-in-law, all have some rights over the farmer's real property. In addition, each member of this group is entitled to benefit from whatever influence or good-will any one or more of the members may have acquired in the village or in the towns. All important decisions concerning any member of this group or any of their children are therefore made jointly and after considerable face-to-face discussion. Dowry arrangements, sales and exchanges of land, house-building, the education of the children, possible sources of employment in the towns: these and similar matters are settled only through long group conferences.

These conferences are made possible by four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture, in spite of the geographical scatter of the individuals concerned. First, Greeks expect that major decisions will not be arrived at in a hurry, but may—and frequently do—take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, Greeks do not expect and do not value personal privacy. And fourth, the attitudes of the upwardly mobile urban kin and of the remaining rural kin to each other are conducive to continuing interaction.

The first of these patterns, the habit of long-continued discussion of a problem, is a recognized pattern that goes back to the *Iliad*. The span of time over which discussions continue is augmented by the fact that even when a decision is arrived at, it is not considered final and irrevocable. For example, a dowry contract may call for the transfer of a parcel of land from the bride's father to the bride herself. Two years later, however, the girl's husband may decide that he would prefer his wife to have the money value of the land which would then enable her to buy some town real estate from which the new family could derive more income. This is considered a proper subject for discussion by the bride's father and his brothers as well as by the groom. It might result in the

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never undertaken lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwellers are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village. They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields. In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in the other direction.

All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy. In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, including Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds —and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the villager visiting the city or town.

Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers are willing to carry messages.

Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

369 602 554 [574] 171 369 602 554 [619]

in Greece, the stream of cultural transmission between urban and rural Greece via kinship groups is constantly renewed.

The maintenance of urban-rural contacts and thereby the spread of a national culture and its institutions through upwardly mobile kin is not a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Almost the same pattern is mentioned for French Canada in the late 1930's (Miner 1939:83, 239–241), and is indicated in Garigue's more recent study of kinship awareness and relationships from the standpoint of French-Canadians living in Montreal (Garigue 1956:1092–1097). It is at least hinted at for a part of Belgium (Turney-High 1953:196, 205). The migration of farmers' children to urban centers with an accompanying shift in occupation or in social position or both, and the continuation of family ties are described in greater detail for the Irish countryside of the 1930's (Arensberg and Kimball 1940:146–152). Since Arensberg and Kimball were not specifically interested in the cultural effects of migration on the farming population remaining at home, they do not present data which would make it possible to determine whether the situation is completely parallel to that of Greece in this respect. Some elements in Garigue and Firth's analysis of awareness of kinship connections among Londoners of Italian provenience also suggest parallels with the Greek situation, but there is some discordant evidence as well (Garigue and Firth 1956:70, 79–81).

However, the type of family structure and functioning which I have described for Greece conforms in many ways to LePlay's idea of the *famille-souche* or stem family which he presents as common in 19th century Europe (Zimmermann and Frampton 1935:122–127). Chinese patterns of mobility and urban-rural relations also exhibit remarkable parallels with Greece (e.g., Lin 1947:passim). For Mexico, in the context of a discussion of urbanization without breakdown, Oscar Lewis describes a pattern of visiting between Tepoztecans who have moved to Mexico City and their relatives in Tepozatlan which has much in common with the picture I have presented for Greece, and which has had similar cultural consequences (Lewis 1952:39–40).

On the other hand, if the Greek pattern is not unique, neither is it universal. Upward social movement for sons of farmers is relatively infrequent in many societies. It is not recorded for the Dutch village described by the Keurs (1955:96–100) or for an English village described by Williams (1956:34–54). Barnes (1954:44), in his discussion of a Norwegian island parish, says specifically that here " . . . kinsmen, by and large, are approximate social equals." Nor does upward social movement for farmers' sons appear significant in French communities (Bernot and Blancard 1953; Wylie 1957; Bottomore 1954:150; Lipset and Rogoff 1954:563). Where upward social movement from farm to town does exist, the Greek pattern of continued strong kinship ties is not necessarily duplicated. Indeed, for the Polish peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki state specifically that as soon as peasants pass into the middle or lower middle class they effect a complete break with the family group back in the village (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918:Vol. I, 98–99). As we have seen, Wolf, in

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobility creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it.

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956).

NOTES

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957.

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[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinois, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia.

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5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

are chosen. Before presenting himself to a bishop the candidate for ordination must decide finally and irrevocably to what state of life he is called, since marriage is not permitted after ordination. This rule, as will appear when we come to consider the training of the Greek clergy, gives rise to many grave practical problems.

Such then, very briefly, is the framework of the diocesan and parochial organisation. The married clergy, "in parishes, residing on their cures", form a distinct class with well-defined duties and limitations peculiar to their condition; while the general administration of the diocese, the ministries of preaching and confessing, together with the organisation of the catechetical schools and Christian Unions which have become so important an element in the pattern of Greek church life within the last few years, are the immediate responsibility of the metropolitan assisted by his headquarters staff of monks and lay theologians.

The Greek bishop is still in a very real sense the *persona* of his diocese: the natural leader of the whole community in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Not for nothing is he commonly referred to as ὁ Δεσπότης, 'the Despot'. During the Turkish occupation the power of the bishop within his own diocese was all but unbounded, and as he had formerly mediated between his people and the Turkish authorities so, more recently, it was he who commonly bore the heaviest burden of responsibility during the occupation of Greece by the Axis troops. Archbishop Damaskinos was called to play, on a wider stage and before a larger audience, it is true, a part which was being sustained no less faithfully, albeit more obscurely, by many of his brethren in the provincial towns of Greece during the years from 1941 to 1945. Though times have changed since the day when the people of Salonica overthrew the minarets of the fleeing oppressor with such patriotic and religious ardour that many casualties were caused by the falling masonry, the Greek bishop still maintains a style befitting his position. The metropolis (where it has survived the destruction of the war years) is generally amongst the most impressive and substantial structures of a provincial town, and though the bishop is readily accessible to all and sundry, he nevertheless bears himself with considerable dignity. When he walks abroad, carrying a silver-headed staff and accompanied by a deacon, the people draw aside to let him pass, bowing their heads and putting off their caps. The faithful who come to the metropolis—whether they be peasants from some nearby hamlet or senior army officers from the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

793 burdened with the spiritual care of more than 2,000 children belonging
369 to the newly organised Christian Unions of the diocese and a score of
[794] isolated garrisons, yet contriving somehow to find time to train a group of young men and women to take charge of the village catechetical schools when the time came for the refugees to return to their homes.

Is it any wonder that in such circumstances the shepherd of one of these mountain flocks will sometimes persuade himself that the populous cities of the south have more than their rightful share of the educated clergy, and picture them as a pleasant haven from the chill blasts that sweep his own desolate pastures; a place where university men "tarry out their time, wither away as a flower ungathered in a garden, and are never used; or, as so many candles, illuminate themselves alone, obscuring one another's light . . . the least of which, translated to a dark room, or to some country benefice, where it might shine apart, would give a fair light and be seen over all."

793 Much will depend upon the success of the strenuous efforts now being
871 made to raise the prevailing standards of education among the country
369 clergy and to increase the number of priest-theologians available for work in urban parishes and as assistants to the provincial metropolitans. So far as the village clergy are concerned, the lower seminaries do, on the whole, meet the needs of the present situation tolerably well. The system whereby the pastor of a small rural community is normally chosen by the village elders ensures that the mountain *papas* is a man of good character and reputation, often the natural leader of the community. The Greek country parson has little need of book-learning, and a lengthy academic training would be wasted upon him.

793 With the parish clergy of the towns the position is less satisfactory.
369 The urban parish priest does not always command that universal respect
[554] and affection normally enjoyed by his rural colleague. This is not to say that the clergy of the towns are credited with any of the more spectacular vices. The Greek bishop is not compelled to exercise an unsleeping vigilance to ensure that his priests and deacons do not "being drunk bellow in the streets; or what is worse, in their drink whoop and hollow in the church; or read the church service in a double tone . . . that their upper dress though plain be clean, and not one black and another red; that they walk not in a dronish lazy manner, nor lie down to sleep in the streets; nor tipple in brandy houses and alehouses, nor boast the strength of their heads in drinking at entertainments." Such deplorable failings (though apparently regrettably prevalent in the Russia of Peter the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occasionally.

This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharpness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual occupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these attitudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong.

The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more general social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

To own land or buildings that will produce an income without personal effort is for most Greeks the pinnacle of ambition; and those who fall short of this ideal but still manage to escape the necessity of manual work sometimes allow the nail of the little finger on one hand to grow long as public proof of their privileged status.

Most Greek towns are predominantly commercial centers. Small shops, run by the members of a single family, are far more typical than any larger enterprise. There is a tremendous proliferation of independent entrepreneurs, working often on a shoestring. Even the employees of a larger concern are very likely to dabble on the side in buying or selling some commodity or service, partly because wages and salaries are low and hours are short, but partly also because no Greek really likes to work for someone else if he can possibly work for himself.

This phenomenon is intimately connected with the tight-knit character of Greek families. The members of a family group are ready and willing to work hard for the common benefit, and can usually arrange for a distribution of the profits among themselves without undue quarreling. But a man employed by an outsider, bound to him by no family ties, finds it hard not to feel that he is being exploited. Why should a stranger hire him if not to make something out of him? And why, then, should an employee not do his best to look after himself first and foremost, help his family and relatives next, and let the interests of the larger enterprise in which he is a mere hired hand take a poor third place in his loyalties?

The result is that when enterprises grow large, and employ persons not bound together by family relationships, they tend to lose much of the efficiency and esprit de corps of the small family undertaking. Nepotism and other forms of special favors done for relatives creep in. Given the strength of Greek family ties, promotion by the cold-blooded criterion of the individual's usefulness to an impersonal organization can scarcely prevail

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, 466
and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in dis- 557
gust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, 476
however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being under- 464
cut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. [465]
Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to [467]
improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. More- 565
over, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immu- 578
nity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psy- 669
chological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance [554]
among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were [208]
deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to [609]
the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

565 generosity and kindliness did something to redeem the balance,
578 but were comparatively rare. The wealthy classes did not, as a
669 rule, show much sign of social conscience or sense of obligation to the poor. Once again, the solidarity and exclusiveness of family sentiment interfered with larger loyalties and sympathies. The result was that antagonism between rich and poor broke out into the open during the war years, and has never since ceased to trouble the political stability of the country.

458 Economic conditions have been acting, for at least fifteen
465 years, to sharpen this feeling. Since 1941 Greece has experi-
578 enced a series of monetary inflations that raised prices, sometimes rapidly, sometimes more slowly, but always faster than adjustments were made in wage and salary scales. As prices outran wages, workingmen faced a series of crises, the more serious because their wage rates were low to begin with. Adjustments of wages, when they came, relieved the problem only temporarily until continuing inflation once again robbed the currency of part of its purchasing power.

The economic plight of white-collar employees was nearly the same as that of manual workingmen, for they, too, had to live on an income that regularly lagged behind the price level.
[554] Moreover, the fact that such persons had gone to school, and therefore felt they had a rightful claim to superior social status, did not make it easier for them to face a life of poverty. The fierce struggle to win a place in the government civil service was only matched by the chronic discontent of those who had succeeded in getting government jobs and then found that they could scarcely live on their salaries.

578 Fortunately for the political stability of the country, wage
669 earners and salaried classes are a minority in Greece. This is no
[565] more than a corollary of the small size and family character of most Greek economic undertakings. Nevertheless, if one adds the hillsmen of the countryside as a third more or less chroni-

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients to talk to.

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened.

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted.

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of commensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man, whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the

9. Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956).

[P.26(A)]

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EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors over the doctors who travel through the countryside on horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are to be consulted during an illness and their care is then needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come to be associated with low social position and low income, hospital care with high social position.

This description of hospital care would be incomplete without some more detailed discussion of the specific disadvantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of land. It has importance also just because the payments are made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient, and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion. The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo* (the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance, they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case, but they are much intensified by hospitalization.

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-producing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its advantages. However, I believe that without the compensating sense of familiarity and continued participation in family relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming.

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions. They complained about the inability to keep regular consulting hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly manage to get into town at any regular times. They also complained about the many relatives in attendance on their patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were,

743 554 369 844 759 [593] 743 152 [511] [583] 743 828 152 156 759 743 743 759 [369] [758] [181]
[P. 26(B)]

/70 cont./
Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house, storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies, but the floors still remain the same mud built.

362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses.

871 [727]

71/ Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write.

212 871

The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life.

875 [872] [871]

Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother

[554] [793] [275]

/71 cont./ If a mother 554
or a father is unable to punish their children, they report /72/ 875
them to the teacher and he gives the proper punishment. Students 876
stand at attention and salute their teachers wherever they see him. 544
They are ready to fulfill his orders regardless of the parents' approval. The parents have no right to complain about any kind of punishment to the student by the teacher, regardless of how severe it is.

Every child from 6 to 13 years of age has to complete the 872
grammar school. Education is compulsory by the government. [681]
A father who suspends his child from school is fined.

Besides the grammar school there was another agent that 242
acted as an educational organization for adult education. The 874
graduates of the grammar school of the ages from 14 to 20 years were organized in winter farm courses. Their schedule of lessons was based on the farm survey of their village and on the questionnaire which was put to them to find out what they would like to learn during winter months. The lessons were mostly field work and very little class work. Each student, besides following the different jobs of his father's occupation, takes active part in a cooperative project. This cooperative project is the /73/ central [476]
theme around which the different lessons are organized. The project is based on some common but unknown factor that the students try to investigate. Special committees from among the group are appointed to divide the jobs at different seasons to every one. Careful accounts are kept of the share of labor of each student, of the cost of the project, and of the climatic conditions under which the project was conducted. At the end of the project year, each student receives his share of income according to the number of hours he worked.

The most effective phase of this project is the yearly demon- 178
stration of the work done by the students to the farmers of the 476
village, the work done, the money spent and results obtained. 242
It is one of the convincing methods to show the farmer how to 874
improve his methods of farming by introducing either better

/89 cont./

a twin, and when they mourn they mourn together. Their sentimental songs are always tinged with the air of sadness. Even at the funerals they sing the same songs which they sing when they have a merry time. Mutual aid is the characteristic quality of the Caucasians in their work, in their joy, and in their sorrow. On the contrary, the Thracians are strictly individualistic and regard mutual aid as the sign of laziness.

/90/ Conflicts. Regardless of the mutual aid and the cooperation they have, the conflicts are very prevalent. They occur either among the two groups or among the members of one group. The causes of the conflicts are for controlling the village cooperative, the mayorship of the village, or as a consequence of a proposal to marriage which was declined. It is important here to note that regardless of the conflict situation if the "Gerousia" wanted to finish a certain community project they all shared alike the burden. In spite of the official power the cooperative has and the organized super-imposed government mayor has, the "Gerousia", the unofficial body of old men is the real axis or the center of any unanimous movement. Conflicts which are temporarily settled by the mayor or by the goverment courts eventually reach the peaceful settlement of the "Gerousia" who know so well how to make the people forgive each other. The judge at the courts reads the law and enforces the punishment according to the act, but "Gerousia" knows so well the past of every one and even the type of family for one or two generations and touches the pride of every one by enumerating the good qualities and good dispositions of his father or grandfather. The position of "Gerousia" is that of a father and the effect they have on the person is lasting. Jealousies, small /91/ fights and family difficulties are settled by "Gerousia". This group is a government within a government, officially unknown, but it stands as the only guiding hand for the village community. At times of great distress and difficulties, people consult the "Gerousia". The church, the priest, the teacher and the doctor do not have as constructive an influence as the "Gerousia" does. It is not a voted body but has the unofficial

/98 cont./

4. The spirit of benevolence reaches its zenith. Donations to the church and to the poor.
5. Exchange of ideas with other villagers and thus benefit from each other's experience.
6. It is a day when everybody feels alike with no class distinction.

How local services are paid. There are three coffee houses in the village and they all work on a credit system to be collected in the summer. During the harvest season it is surprising to find more outside people with sacks and scales who come around to collect the debts than farmers.

/99/ The horseshoer, the herdsman, the barber, the priest, the school-committee, the tailor, the local hospital committee, the coffee house men, the local grocery merchant, the town merchants, the blacksmith, the tin man, the carpenter, the doctor, the drug man, the mid-wife, the guard of the fields, the vegetable man, the wagon builder, the cheese man and the tax collector. Usually at the harvest season the coffee houses are filled with collectors. They get information from each other to the quality of wheat collected from different farmers. Most of the agreements are based on an amount of wheat and not on money as a basis. For example, the barber for hair cutting and shaving gets 12 okes of wheat (33.60 lbs) for one year. The herdsman charges 3 okes of wheat per head for the year. The doctor gets 10 okes of wheat per family for the year. It is surprising here to find how much of the business transaction are carried out on commodity bases rather than with money.

Cast of Personalities. In the social interaction which takes place in a community, certain personalities emerge which develop into the community's cast of actors. These are the people who provide the /100/ foci of attention, about whom gossip circulates more than others, and who give to the community its really human qualities. Among these characters are both the heroes and the villains. They are outstanding, however, not so much because

/100 cont./

of their occupation but rather because of certain peculiar personal qualities which they possess. Such a cast of characters is very evident in Megali Vrisi. Most of these are due to their ability to speak fluently, or to tell stories, read and interpret the news from the papers or forecast future events. Some of these rank the lowest in the economic scale and their influence is not effective beyond the village boundaries. These personalities become the central guides for the decisions of many persons. Both Thracian and Caucasians have these types of personalities. 156 554

Community organization. The village of Megali Vrisi is a loosely organized village. The various groups and associations are independently organized and function without any cooperation of the other whatsoever. There is competition and constant conflict as to which one is the leading group in the village, but in spite of the conflicts and lack of cooperation among the groups, compared with the neighboring villages /101/ the village is the leading one. This unexplainable progress is mostly due to the constructive and not the destructive type of competition of the different groups, which instead of hindering them is enabling them to get ahead. According to Professor Sanderson, "The coordination of group activities is the heart of social organization insofar as it is related to community welfare, and the importance of community organization in the every day life of its people is apparent." The wholesome competition among the different groups for accomplishing their group projects may be due to the following: 621 476 178

1. Within every member of the different organizations or associations there is an inherent feeling of mutual aid and that the progress of each group is the progress of their village.

2. There are persons who hold office in more than two groups and thus there is this indirect cooperation.

3. It is an accepted principle that each group follows its well-defined program without expecting it to be considered as the only one that needs support.

allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers, announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is impossible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo:* his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

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that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important, even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are reported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special

mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate, concrete situation, and unless it is implemented in terms of persons, is meaningless; what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education or the dowering of one of its members; or of to the village community rebuild its destroyed coffee house together. A leader who has won the respect of the community, consulting and guiding rather than commanding, can create a co-operative unit derivatively; he enlists the personal loyalty of the people; the people will work for his sake and, incidentally, for his idea and proposed end. This remains within the personal framework.

Again, Greeks are *born into a group*, and many Greeks, except under foreign influences in the city, never *join* a group. They are born into the family, into the circle of family friends, into the village community; they do not have to please in order to belong, or to follow regulations. If they fail in their roles within these units, they are bad sons but they do not lose their membership. Only if they forfeit their Greekness in some way, perhaps turn traitor or change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation, but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no Greek equivalent of the word "group" so common in the speech of Americans; words such as *omas* (mass) and *somateion* (body) are used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, in playing cruel tricks involving co-operation; otherwise, what we find, even in this opposition, is cheating for the sake of a weaker student, or support of one student by another. There are individual friendships here, individual evocations of honesty. The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school, and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework; and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern.

Honesty exists, and is expected and respected, only where kinship and personal relations have been established, on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth. In American schools in the cities, American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends, and have thus changed the teacher-student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty. Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own, in foreign circles, and failing to establish personal relations, have evoked mistrust and dishonesty. Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group. However, it should not be taken for granted; neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty. Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe.